1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

recorded in Samoan tales and somewhat suggest the suttee (op. cit., pp. 94, 344).

The Tui Tonga was often borne along in a litter. If he saw a bearer who was particularly zealous and went long without a change, he would stop the bearers and tell the zealous one to run, and the man would be given the land around which he ran without a spell.

Mats and tapa upon which the Tui Tonga had rested or sat would not be used again by their owners but taken to the Tui Tonga, or passed to his retinue.

The power of the Tongan kings to commandeer labor is obvious from the number of tombs, and from such a mighty structure as the great truncated stepped pyramid of Uluakimata I, known as the Paepae o Telea. The blocks of stone of which this tomb is composed are massive, some weighing as much as 30 tons. The quarrying and moving of these huge blocks must have required the labor of large numbers of men.

The following anecdote refers to the hard labor imposed by the Tui Tonga upon their subjects in connection with the erection of the great royal tombs.

> One day, when the men were pulling the stone along from the quarry, they reached a place called Tongia. They had a short rest there and went and drank at a water hole called Anameana. So scant was the water that all was consumed before half of the workmen had drunk, so they started pulling again on the stone and dragged it to Mua. The people who did not get a drink at Anameana went down to the two little brooks which are called Pokitau and Malifu and drank all the water which was there, and yet they did not have enough. They went then to another brook called Fangafeatu and then they were satisfied.

According to a fanciful version, Mounu, an artificial pier of stones at Lapaha, the Tui Tonga's seat, was built of the refuse from the great double vessel *Lomipeau* (26, p. 68). Another version states that it was the beginning of a causeway which the Tui Tonga Pau planned to span the great lagoon of Tongatabu from Lapaha to Tukutonga on the opposite shore near the mouth of the lagoon. Whether or not Pau really planned such a work, it is certain that the construction of the pier represents the organized labor of a considerable body of workmen doubtless acting under the orders of one of the kings. The great dry moat at Lapaha is another indication of centralized control of labor.

Cook (19, vol. 1, pp. 289, 357) speaks of the Siamafuauta as a rest mound (*esi*) which was the property of Pau and he mentions also such a mound on the summit of Eua Island. Such rest mounds, surrounded by shade trees, were frequently erected for kings and great chiefs (42).

If the Tui Tonga's daughter was fed so lavishly that she began to lose her waistline or develop other traits of unioveliness, the servants who were responsible for the overfeeding forfeited their lives at the Tui Tonga's discretion.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

When a Tamaha was to be appointed, the Tui Kanokupolu came and prepared an oven of food and himself carried it to the Tui Haa Takalaua. Together they carried the food to the Tui Tonga, probably in the fictitious fashion described by Collocott (15, p. 43). The three chiefs then went to the prospective Tamaha. Meanwhile all of the chiefs of the kingdom had assembled at the call of the Tui Haa Takalaua. The agreement was reached beforehand between the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua as to who was to be the new Tamaha, although birth had largely preordained this. As with every other bestowal of title in Tonga, the calling of the Tamaha's new title in the kava circle constituted inauguration in office. Informants were of the opinion that the Tamaha was appointed at maturity.

The derivation of the word *tamaha* was given by one informant as *tama* (child), *ha* (to appear); by another as *tama* (child), *ha* (above, in the sense of rank), by another as *tama* (child), *ha* (sacred, cf. Samoan *sa*). The Tamaha was not regarded as the incarnation of a divinity.

In travelling, the Tamaha was usually carried in a palanquin; sometimes she walked. When she passed, people seated themselves with folded hands and bowed head. Her uncle, the male Tui Tonga, brought his offerings and sat down before her with all humility. Sick people came to her for cure (23, p. 145).

One of the chief residences of the Tamaha was the island of Tungua, Haapai. It is one of the seats of the Tui Haa Teiho. When boats passed in front of the Tamaha's house which was near the beach, the paddlers got overboard and swam with the boat until beyond the dwelling. This custom is analogous to the modern one of dismounting from a horse when passing the Queen's residence.

A series of special words used for the Tamaha, the Female Tui Tonga, and the male Tui Tonga are on page 119.

THE TUI HAA TAKALAUA

The great chiefly houses of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu are nothing more than collateral branches of the dynasty of Tui Tonga which began with Ahoeitu. The first Tui Haa Takalaua was a younger brother of a Tui Tonga and the first Tui Kanokupolu was a younger brother of a Tui Haa Takalaua. Hence the stress which so many writers lay upon the spiritual and the temporal lines of rulers in Tonga should be understood to refer to difference of function and degree of chiefliness and sanctity only, not difference of origin, for both lines claim the same semi-divine ancestor, Ahoeitu. Besides this community of origin, the three great chiefly houses of Tonga were thoroughly linked by marriage.

The office of Tui Haa Takalaua is reputed to have been founded by the

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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speechless and motionless;—his heart, however, could be just felt to beat. In the meanwhile he was placed on a sort of hand-barrow, which had been made on purpose, during the time the child was strangled. Fancying there were still some hopes of his recovery, his friends carried him on this bier to different consecrated houses, although he had, almost beyond a doubt, breathed his last with violent struggles, about ten minutes before. He was first carried to the house dedicated to Táli-y-Toobó, where an appropriate prayer to the god was hurried over as quickly as possible: the corpse (for it was now perhaps nothing more, for there was no pulse at the wrist; and Mr. Mariner, applying his hand to the region of the heart, found it had ceased sensibly to beat) was conveyed to the house of the god *Toói-foo'a-Bolótoo*, where a similar prayer was preferred. Not contented with this, they next carried it to the grave of a female chief named Chinitacala, and her spirit was in like manner invoked. Some hope still remained; and his body was carried a mile and a half up the country, on the road towards Felletoa, to the residence of Tooitonga, their great divine chief, at Nioo Lolo. When arrived here, the body was conveyed to Tooitonga's cook-house, and placed over the hole in the ground where the fire is

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

of an hour, the corner posts being taken up, the four pieces which compose the building (a kind of shed in a pyramidal form, the eaves reaching within four feet of the ground) were brought by a sufficient number of men, and put together at the place where it was wanted. This being done, the body was brought on the same hurdle or hand-barrow to the newly erected building, (if it may be so termed) and then being taken off the hurdle it was laid within, on the bale of *gnatoo*, and the house was hung round with black *gnatoo*, reaching from the eaves to the ground *. The women, who were now all assembled and seated round the body, began a most dismal lamentation, similar to that at Neáfoo; in the mean time a number of people, whose business it was to prepare graves, were digging the place of interment within the *fytoca*, under the direction of *Lanagi*, a mataboole whose office was to superintend such affairs. Having dug about ten feet, they came to the large stone vault, such as was described in the note p. 144; a rope being then

* This black *gnatoo*, or rather *gnatoo* of a dark colour, having a deep brown ground with black stripes, is not chosen on account of its colour, but because it is coarse and common (emblematical of poverty and sadness). They have a kind of *gnatoo* of very superior quality, but of the same colour and pattern, and this is used on occasions of rejoicing.

175 dying man, that sat by her. She stretched out her
669 hand to me, as imploying[1] my help, and groaned
726 with pain. I was stepping towards her to assist her,
797 but at that instant, the enemy appeared, returning from the pursuit, with those whom we had lately discomfited. We all took to flight; but in our way, we met with a division headed by Loogolala, coming by another road from Ardeo, where they had arrived by sea. Instead of facing about, we continued our flight to the sea-shore. This was a manoeuvre of Loogolala, who all the while, laughed, and encouraged us. It was low water, and the sea had left a very extensive beach. We ran along towards the water, pretending to make for our canoes
[493] for safety. The enemy pursued us, carrying their chief on a Fatta, i.e. two rails covered with matting.

We then made a stand, and faced about and hastened to attack them. They fled with precipitation, and threw down the old man together with the
[554] Fatta, and left him. Taking him prisoner, we found he was a relation of one of our chiefs, who, that he might not seem partial to an enemy, desired they would kill him; but his attendants insisted, that out of respect to himself, his life should be spared. They called therefore to his sons to come and fetch him: and retiring back a little, they suffered them to carry him safely off, without molestation, with a forbearing humanity, that would have reflected honour on the most civilized nation.

[1] [Erratum: this should read imploring. Cf. errata sheet, Category 116, p. 235---Analyst]

[This page retyped by HRAF.]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

looks like a gentleman. We had been good friends during my former visit, while his wife Fujipala was still alive. When they dined with me on that occasion, they drove up in an antiquated buggy, with a Hindustani coachman from Fiji, he in dress clothes, and she in mauve satin, bonnet and boots included, attended by four maids of honour, as befits a king's granddaughter who weighs seventeen stone. Poor Fuji! her good sense and influence are badly wanted now. Her son, Taufaahau, deprived of her control, was running wild, and since he was generally regarded as the heir to the king, it was imperative that Fatafehi should bring him under some sort of discipline. It was partly to urge this upon him that I had invited him to visit me, and partly because he had never shown animus against the Wesleyans; and I wished him, as Governor of Haapai, to endeavour to check the disaffection which the speeches of the Free Church ministers were creating. When he arrived, Vaea, a chief among the returned exiles, was drinking tea. He had just taken a cup in one hand and a piece of bread-and-butter in the other when the great man was announced. "Who?" asked Vaea, not catching the name. "Tui Belehake," I answered, giving his title; and as I spoke the *portière* was flung aside and Fatafehi strode in heartily. When I looked round Vaea had disappeared from his chair, and was squatting in the corner with depending lower jaw and eyes fixed vacantly on the ceiling. I spoke to him once or twice, trying to include him in the conversation, but he did not seem to hear. The only sign of life about him was the trembling of the teacup in his palsied hand. Suddenly he got up, and having no free hand to move the curtain, he plunged at it head-foremost,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

affected to the present Cabinet by profession, old Peter is long past polemics [illegible] all creeds seem much alike when one is ninety, and expecting every day to have one's doubts explained away. Young Peter was only a third clerk in the Treasury at £10 a-year, and bad at arithmetic, and he wanted to be Sub-Inspector of Police at

"He paid us a visit in a hand-cart."

£25; so, having his way to make in the world, he was a loyal spy. The other was Tukuaho's cousin. He was an ex-convict, and looked his part of spy so well that I suspect that the conversation at once turned upon the weather in any house that he entered; but this did not prevent him from bringing blood-curdling reports of the hostility of the people, drawn probably from hearsay aided by a facile imagination.

Having despatched our spies on secret service, we had

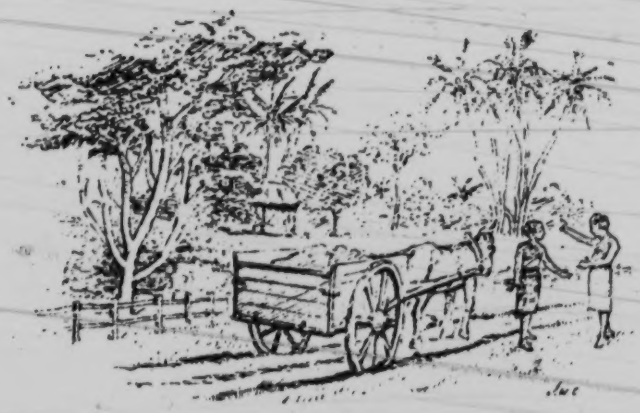
14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

already they were asking why they should not elect one of themselves as President of their "Conference," and why their salaries should be lower than that of their white brother. From this it is only a step to a new and original interpretation of the Scriptures, and to a bastard Christianity like the Hauhauism of the Maories and the Tuka of Fiji.

Our three great *fonos* were a decided success. We rode first to Hihifo with an informal escort of mounted police and clerks, not excepting the faithful spy, Peter. Tungi, being past the age and figure for equestrian exercise, travelled in an American buggy, which stuck fast every now and then in the deep mud caused by the rains, while we rode on at the untiring canter that is the easiest pace for Tongan ponies. Few of our escort had girths, and not all had saddles, but this did not seem to incommode them in the least. We reached Kolowai, the chief town, plastered with mud, and halted under the celebrated colony of flying-foxes. They were a revolting sight. Four great banyan and ironwood trees shaded the road, and these were covered with the living fruit so thickly clustered that the branches drooped with their weight. Thousands upon thousands hung there from their hind-claws, sleeping, crawling, squealing, quarrelling, stretching their uncanny sails, and scratching their light-brown heads with a winged claw. The leaves and the grass beneath the trees had long ago been killed by their unwholesome presence; and the stench was so overpowering that we had to edge to windward. They are *tabu*—Heaven knows why, for they do immense damage to the plantations—and they are never shot at. Formerly, it is said, they

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

turned to the left they were loyal subjects of King George, going to pay their just debts to his Government; if they took the straight road on they were traitors and renegades, who loved filthy lucre better than the honour of their country. I tried to guess from the drivers' faces which way they would turn. "Here," I thought, "is a loyalist." The mild-faced, semi-clerical-looking driver left the reins slack on the horse's neck: the cart creaked



"There was an animated discussion."

onward. For one moment it seemed to pause as if about to turn off, but it was fancy: the horse did not leave the middle rut, and the driver was a traitor in loyalist clothing after all. Clumsily disguised though, for I used then to remember that he had a cunning expression about the mouth, for all his assumed benevolence. Once a long string of carts going towards the traders so exasperated me that I sent a servant to waylay the next comer, and to tell him to take his freight to the Government stores.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

231 One result of the introduction of horses has been the
137 almost entire destruction of the bread-fruit-tree throughout Tonga. The glutinous sap is irresistible to horses, and they greedily tear off the bark as far up the trunk as they can reach, of course killing the tree.

The men ride like centaurs, but, unlike centaurs, they
231 have no hands. As a consequence, the Tongan pony
492 has no mouth. Almost as soon as the boys can walk they are galloping bare-backed, with no bridle but a rope knotted round the horse's nose. Grown men generally use a saddle of some kind without girths or surcingle,
[562] and too often without stuffing. The women have not yet taken to riding like their cousins in Hawaii, who have even converted the European women of the place to trousers and a man's saddle.

The people are as cruel to their animals as the Egyp-
231 tian donkey-boys. A sore back is never thought a reason
825 for sparing a horse. I have seen ponies returning from the plantations in the evening with a basket of yams slung on either side with a sinnet cord, which was cutting deep into a bleeding raw on the withers. I stopped the man and tried to convince him of his brutality. He was simply incapable of comprehending the idea of cruelty to animals,—an idea which, after all, is only found among the stricter Buddhists and the Anglo-Saxons, and with the latter is but the growth of a single century.

The wheel traffic of Tonga has increased enormously.
● 493 Every man who can afford it has a cart, the richer natives
[491] American buggies. In wet weather the wheels cut the soft grass-roads into rivers of mud, in which the wheels are logged to the axle-trees. On such roads the heaviest

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

cart is noiseless, and so after nightfall they are compelled by law to carry a light. The law is satisfied by the economical expedient of a smouldering brand, visible no farther than a lighted cigar.

There is little bird-life in the islands, but two of the species show remarkable peculiarities. The *kaka*, a green parrot common to all the islands of Fiji, is in Tonga confined to the little island of Eua. Though tame parrots have been taken across the narrow strait that separates Eua from Tongatabu, and have escaped in the larger island, they have never bred there. Wallace has recorded the fact that land-birds will not cross a deep-water strait, however narrow; but no one has offered a plausible explanation of the arrival of the *kaka* in Eua without touching at Tongatabu. The Eua species differs slightly from the green parrot of Fiji.

Stranger still is the presence of the megapodius (*malao*) in Niuafoou (Boscawen Island), which, if one may judge from the absence of a fringing reef and the volcanic nature of the soil, is of more recent formation than the others. It is covered with the large mounds in which this energetic little bird lays its eggs, leaving them to be hatched by the sun if they be fortunate enough to escape the eyes of the people or the pigs of the place. These eggs, enormous when compared with the size of the bird, have been for centuries regarded as a delicacy of Tongatabu, and have been exported thither in every canoe sailing southward during the breeding season. I was told (with what truth I know not, for I tried it and failed) that the eggs thus taken to Tongatabu are often hatched artificially and the young *malao* reared. The jungle of the southern

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

at Tongan feasts do the same. The combination of European dress and fingers for knives, forks and spoons seems strikingly incongruous to one new to the custom. At the end of the meal a basin of water is passed around, so that each one may wash his hands.

Perfumes are much appreciated by the Tongans and traders say that they discriminate between the cheaper and the better grades. This is clearly but a transferal of their old interest in perfumed coconut oil, with which they still freely anoint themselves.

European alcoholic drinks are called kava papalangi (foreign kava). They are permitted only to the land-holding chiefs, in a limited quantity, and to foreigners. Commoners must go without.

Stone, bone, and shell implements have been supplanted long since by metal implements. Contact with Euro-American culture has resulted, however, in the rise of a new stone implement. This is the slab of stone and the stone pounder for preparing kava root. Formerly this was chewed to prepare the brew; now, owing to Caucasian influence, it is pounded.

The former narrow roads that traversed the various Tongan islands have now all been replaced by roads of standard width for wheeled vehicles. The commonest vehicle is a two-wheeled cart imported from New Zealand. The Tongan usually dispenses with the board seat and sits cross-legged on the bed of the cart. In the two large islands of Tongatabu and Vavau automobiles have made their appearance. They are the more numerous in the former island where the levelness of the country makes for ease in driving. The majority of cars are driven by Caucasians, but the Tongans are fast learning. Many Tongans have been familiar for years with gasoline launches.

Vehicles keep to the left in Tonga.

Many Tongan houses show a hybridism in construction. Often the roof will be of corrugated iron instead of the regular thatch. Or again, the sides and rounded ends will be of boards instead of cane. These innovations usually do not affect the shape of the house. Many churches are in native architecture, which employs sinnet cord instead of nails.

Appreciation of money is naturally developing in Tonga and is undoubtedly an important factor in the process of acculturation. National feeling, though probably existent

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 refreshments by our kind entertainers, we sailed again for home.

March 7th.—Started at daybreak for Hologa, a place nine miles distant from Neiafu. There having been heavy rains during the last few days, the roads were in bad condition. The country is very undulating in this direction, and, in some localities, the rains having washed away the alluvial soil from the underlying strata of clay, it was almost impossible to keep one's footing, or make any advance. We were met, however, by a party of men 797 from Hologa, who, knowing the state of the roads, 494 had brought a *fata*, or rude palanquin, on which to [493] carry me forward. It was not so stylish as those of the Eastern continent, but it afforded a welcome relief to wearied limbs. It consisted of a cocoanut leaf mat doubled, and having a pole inserted at each end. I sat upon the mat, and was borne along by four men. The poor fellows had many a slip, and were bathed in perspiration; but they would not hear of my descending again to walk. They seemed really proud at having a Missionary to carry, and were not a little pleased that my weight was nothing when compared to that of my venerable and portly colleague, Mr. Turner, for whom they had often done the same kind service.

797 The delightful work of the day amply made up for all the toil. Found it very profitable to explain the Scripture lessons read. The people seemed greatly interested; and when the service was concluded, and we had retired to the Teacher's house, many questions were asked on various passages of Scripture, to all of which I gave explanations according to my ability.

[794] [431] Friday, 12th.—To-day we have been busy enough

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Niua Foou]

797 504 the water, each of whom seized the gunwale of the boat, guiding it stem on toward the bluff rock before us. The sailors meanwhile "feathered" their oars, and were prepared to "back water," in case the swell should carry the boat forward with too great velocity, in which event it would either have been instantly smashed upon the rocks, or overset by the rebound of the sea. Thus, poised upon the top of the swell, we each watched when the boat rose level with the ledge of rock, and at a favourable moment sprang upon the shore. The operation involved the certainty of a ducking, if not something worse, in the event of a false or short jump, and of broken shins or knees, in case of landing too heavily. With the exception of some of our goods getting wet, no misfortune attended our landing. We found that preparations had been made for carrying us to the chief town, about four miles distant, and knowing how much labour of another kind was before us, we reluctantly consented to the proposal, only descending from the rude palanquin or hammock to walk, where the road was excessively steep, or was too narrow to admit of safe progress, excepting in single file. Certain parts of the road we took skirted the top of tremendous precipices descending to the lake lying in the centre of the island. At these points it required some nerve to look without giddiness on the grand scene below us, and to pass on in safety. We need not, however, dwell upon the natural features of the island, these having been already described in former pages.*

797 [494] [493] [133]

A round of ministerial duties, such as we had already discharged at Niua Tobutabu, gave us full

* See pages 82–88.

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE TUI TONGA

The Tui Tonga when travelling was frequently borne on a litter, though land on which he stood, or houses into which he entered, did not become tabu and therefore unavailable to their former possessors or users. Mats and cloth which he used seem not to have returned to their former owners, but to have become the property of the Tui Tonga. Such articles he seems frequently to have passed over to his retinue. The tabus surrounding the Tui Tonga's person were of course strict. The London Missionary Society's missionaries who arrived in the *Duff* in 1797 relate that the Tui Tonga going into their house in western Tongatabu requested that they shave him. This ceremony of the toilette was performed, but until everything was safely finished the natives about were in the greatest trepidation lest some of the sacred hair should fall to the ground. The operation of supercision could not be performed in Tonga on the Tui Tonga. He had either to go without the operation or visit Samoa or Fiji for the purpose.

CEREMONIOUS SPEECH

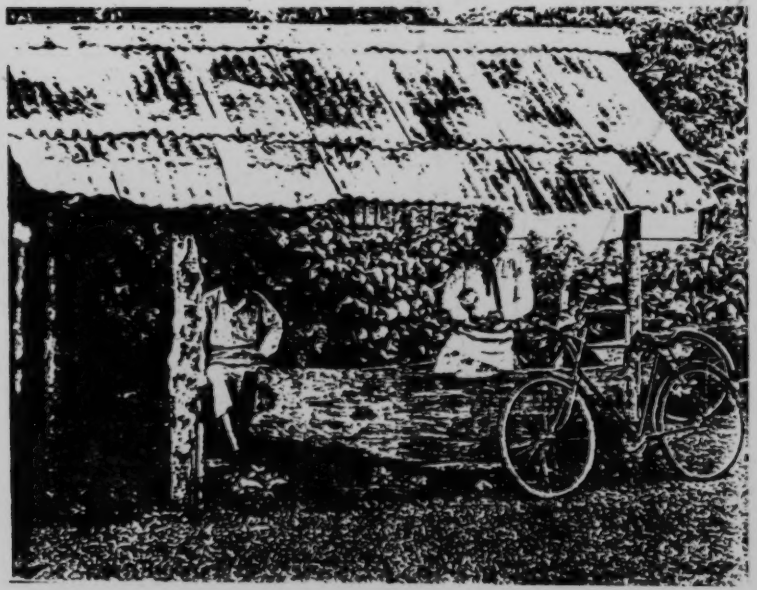
An interesting example of the tabu surrounding the great chiefs is seen in the opening of ceremonial speeches in their presence. The speaker clears away, group by group, the tabus that would prevent his speaking. He says "Tabu for such a one," using an expression which it is exceedingly difficult to render into English, but whose real significance seems to be, "With all due regard to the tabu of So-and-so." This introductory apology having been completed the speaker will say, "It is now permissible for me to go on with my speech." There are two important sets of these tabu formulae, one for the Tui Tonga chiefs and the other for the Tui Kanokubolu, but naturally enough the practice of thus prefacing a speech is widely extended. In sermons, ordinary addresses, and in conversation, anything which the speaker feels should be introduced "saving the presence of" his auditors will be introduced with this apologetic preface. Especially is this the case when mentioning bodily infirmities to a person of superior rank. A commoner would scarcely mention at all a physical defect of a chief to whom he was speaking, at any rate without the license of intimately friendly conversation, but in men-

Gerstle 6 Raitt 39: C.0-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 009 Tonga 009

Gerstle 6 Raitt 39: C.0-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 009 Tonga 009

Enormous, hollow, wooden drums, *lali*, like the one pictured here, were used in the past to herald important events (e.g. war, the taking of prisoners, religious rites), and are still used in Tonga today to announce church services. Steady, deep, mellow booms of the *lali* can be heard for miles. The *lali* in this photo is in front of the Free Church of Tonga in Ma'ufanga, Tongatapu.

Na'e ngaue'aki foki e lali he taimi fuoloa ke tala 'aki ha tau, pe ko ha puke popula 'o ha ni'ihi, pe ko ha me'a fakalotu pe ngaahi me'a mahu'inga pehe. Ko e ta eni 'o ha lali 'i he falalotu 'o e Siasi Tonga Tau'ataina 'i Ma'ufanga, Tongatapu.



[50]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

Bedecked with colorful flowers and people, this truck leaves Nuku'alofa for a day of feasting, swimming, dancing and singing at the beach.

Ko e uta eni ki matatahi 'o ha kau kai tunu mei Nuku'alofa.

Nature's genius shaped the maze of inlets which thread around velvet-covered islands in Vava'u, embracing one of the most beautiful harbors in the Pacific *(photo on opposite page)*.
'Oku kau e tauiangа 'o Neiafu, Vava'u, 'i he faka'ofo'ofa taha 'i he Pasifiki *(ta 'i to'omata'u)*.

 [photo is on p. 53-A]

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39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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[226]

"Taimi fakatonga," an expression referring to leisurely "Tongan time," allows man the prerogative of being master of time. (*Above:* Ha'asini, Tongatapu. *Opposite:* Pangai, Ha'apai.)

Oku meimei fa'iteliha pe e Tonga kotoa ki he taimi 'o fai ai 'a'ene ngaue. Ko e 'uhinga ia 'o e kamata ngaue'aki e lea ko e "taimi fakatonga." Na'e fai e ta 'i 'olunga 'i Ha'asini, Tongatapu, pea ko e ta 'i to'omata'u ne'e fai ia 'i Pangai, Ha'apai.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

his curiosity in looking at the Cattle &c[a] on deck, I asked him down into the Cabbin, some of his attendants objected to this, saying if he went there people would walk over his head and this was never done.[1] I desired Omai to till them I would remove that objection by giving orders that no one should walk on that part of the deck which was over the Cabbin, but this probably would not have done if the cheif had not waved the ceremony and walked down with me without any more to do. Both he and his attendants took some pains to convince us he was King and not Feenough, for he soon perceived we had some doubts about it, and particularly Omai who was a good deal chagrined at finding there was a greater man than his friend Feenough, or Omai as he was now called for they had from the first chang'd names.[2] The Chief sat down with us to dinner, he eat but little and drank less. After dinner he asked Omai and me to accompany him ashore, Omai excused himself but I attended upon him in my own boat, having first presented him with such things as I knew would secure his friendship and what he most Valued and but little expected. As soon as we landed and before he went out of the boat he ordered two hogs to be brought and put into her; he was then carried a shore by some of his own people on a board like unto a hand barrow, and went and seated himself in a small neat house near the shore, which seemed to have been built for to accomodate traveling Chiefs. He desired me to sit by him, his attendance, which were not numerous, seated themselves in a semicircle before us without the house; an old woman sat behind or rather on one side the Cheif with a fan in her hand to fan away the flies that came near him. The several articles his people had got by truck aboard the Ships were now displayed before him, he looked over them all and enquired what they had given in exchange and seemed pleased with the bargins they had made. At length he ordered every thing to be returned except a glass bowl which he kept to himself. The persons who brought these things to him first squated themselves down before him, then laid down the things and rose up and retired, the same order

capable of receiving & comprehending subjects which we had considered above their faculties in their present state. . . .'—King, 28 May.

[1] Because of the quite supreme sacredness of the king's head, above all other heads. Any chief's head or father's head was of course *tapu*.

[2] 'Omai all this time was out of all temper with Poulohow, & want'd to perswade us, that he told lies in saying he was a greater man than his friend, it shoud be observ'd that these two had exchang'd names, it was therefore impossible Omai cou'd consent to be so degraded, & he examin'd the fat King very closely, he own'd that a woman a relation of his, call'd Chunēe Takulla living at Va-vaōo was the head of all the Islands & to whom he bow'd; there was such an air of Openess & of good sence (as far as we could understand) that we all readily acquiest in his pretensions, in spight of Omai's endeavours to the contrary, who would not accompany the King & the Capt[n] on shore.'—King, 28 May.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

could sit down. The hands after performing this ceremony, are in some cases, rendered useless for a time, for untill they are washed they must not handle any kind of victuals; this in a Country like this, where water is not always at hand would seem to be attended with some ilconv[en]iency, but they are never without a succedanium, for a piece of any juicy plants of which there are always enough at hand, answers the purpose of water. When the hands are in this state they call it *Taboo rema*,[1] Taboo in general signifies forbiden and rema is hand.

When it is occasioned by paying obeisance to a great personage it is soon washed of; but in some other cases, it is of some continuance; we have frequently met with women that have been Taboo rema and have been fed by others, but never with a man. When the time is expired, she goes and washes in one of their baths which are dirty holes for the most part of brackesh water, she then comes to the King, make[s] her obeisance in the usual way, then takes his foot and applies it to her breast, shoulders and most other parts of her body, he then embraces her first on the one shoulder and then on the other, after which she retires purified from her uncleanness. I do not know that it is always necessary to come to the King, Omai said it was, if so this may be one reason why he is for the most part traveling from island to island. I saw it done with him two or three times, and with Feenough once, but this was with one of his own Women and as Omai was not with me I could not ask the occasion.

Taboo as I have before observed is a word of an extensive signification; Human Sacrifices are called *Tangata Taboo*, and when any thing is forbid to be eaten, or made use of they say such a thing is Taboo; they tell us that if the King should happen to go into a house belonging to a subject, that house would be Taboo and never more be inhabited by the owner;[2] so that where ever he travels there are houses for his reception; indeed none of them at no time make free with each others habitations. Old Toobough was at this time over the Taboo,[3] that is if Omai understood them right, he and his deputies inspected

[1] *tapu sima* is the modern form. But Cook must have heard the ambiguous Polynesian *r* sound in the word for 'hand'. He knew it from Tahiti and New Zealand.

[2] Or he was accompanied by a special portable house, *falefata*, carried around in sections. It will be remembered that the day Cook first met Paulaho, 27 May (p. 116 above), the king was 'carried a shore by some of his own people on a board like unto a hand barrow' [another mark of his eminence], 'and went and seated himself in a small neat house near the shore, which seemed to have been built for to accomodate travelling Chiefs'. The *arii raki* in Tahiti could put houses out of commission in the same way. Even if the Tu'i Tonga sat on a mat or rested on a piece of tapa, the article could not be again used by the owner but passed to the king.

[3] 'Over the Taboo': meaning that he decided on matters of *tapu*; doing this and other work, Tongan fashion, for his elder brother Maealiuaki, the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

443 built a store and hired one of the villagers to run it. In about 1925 the third store was built and run by a villager, and twice since that time other villagers have maintained stores. There have been five stores since 1908 but none has run concurrently with any other, and the presence of at least one store has been nearly continuous. This time distribution might be evidence that more than one store could not be supported by the village.

443 438 [464] The current store owner has a full-time wage labor job in Nuku'alofa and gardens for most of his family's food; his wife runs the store. The store is not kept open continuously but is opened at almost any time a customer wishes to make a purchase except on Sundays. Merchandise is [494] [493] acquired at larger stores in Nuku'alofa in small enough quantities so that the owner may transport them from Nuku'alofa by bicycle. The inventory consists primarily of sugar, flour, tinned meat and fish, candies, tabacco products, and a number of small household items such as batteries, thread, razor blades, and needles. Two other important items are kerosene and soap products.

[452] The store owner allows credit purchases for some members of the community up to a maximum of $T5.00. Store inventory fluctuates considerably and villagers do not rely upon it for that reason they buy large proportions of goods at larger stores in Nuku'alofa. An analysis of buying patterns for twenty households using sample A showed that 6.65 percent of the goods purchased were purchased at the local store.

241 For commuting between the bush and town allotments and
481 transporting agricultural produce, the commonest modes of
494 transportation are walking, riding horses, horsecarts
493 (saliote), bicycles, and buses. Of a sample of 140 house-
492 holds, only 9 percent owned a motor vehicle whereas 26
percent owned bicycles; 28 percent owned horsecarts (saliote)
494 and 48 percent owned horses. The percentage of households
369 owning bicycles and motor vehicles and those riding buses
to their bush allotments was higher for Nuku'alofa than the
rural areas, whereas understandably the reverse was true of
241 those owning horses and horsecarts. Farmers desiring to
494 transport considerable volumes of crops, firewood, or other
427 material often rent trucks or horsecarts. In maintaining
241 the fertility of the soil, Tongan farmers have considerable
242 empirical knowledge and understand the necessity of crop
rotation and a sufficient fallow period. They realize that
stands of large trees or certain shrubs and herbs, such as
Lantana camara, Leucaena leucocephala, Paspalum conjugatum,
and Phaseolus semierectus, indicate better soil than species
like Panicum maximum, Cyperus rotundus, or Sida rhombifolia.
They also realize that the length of the fallow period has
been declining and that the soils are presently more
impoverished than in the past. The primary means that most
Tongans use to improve soil fertility are fallowing and
[654] burning dead plant material. The government encourages the
use of commercial fertilizers, and out of 137 sample house-

/92 cont./

553 rendered: "the coconut whose offshoot comes out of the sea, to take
551 root on the shore [whither it was driven]").

B. Village Life

a) Settlement and Community

361 The Tongans today live in villages. These differ in size. In
162 general, they have several hundred inhabitants. In the smallest settlements on a few islands there are approximately 50 to 80 natives
632 living. The largest, "urbanized" villages, on the other hand, are:
[162] Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) with approximately 4500 inhabitants, Neiafu (Vava'u) with approximately 2200, Mu'a (Tongatapu) with approximately 1400, and Pangai-Hihifo (Lifuka) with approximately 1000. In these
[464] larger towns many Tonga already work in trade, industry and government
[366] service; here there are rather large department stores and cars;
[493] Nuku'alofa and Neiafu have paved streets, also cinemas, and, in the
[363] former telephones and electric light have been installed. But here too,
[368] in the larger settlements, the majority of Tongans have plantations and
[365] work them more or less regularly--to some extent along with other
[423] occupations.

621 /93/ The following figures were obtained in average Tongan
162 villages

592
362

	Number of inhabitants	Households (cook hut & meals in common)	Living- (sleeping houses)
Nomuka.....	567	85	125
'Uiha ('Uiha).....	647	100	143
Felemea ('Uiha).....	372	48	72
Fungamisi (Vava'u).....	263	45	55

368 In an average Tongan village there are usually three or four churches of various denominations. (264)

264. Even on the island of 'O'ua (Ha'apai group)

/166 cont./

244 [137] which were often brought to the Archipelago by Europeans, are planted in very small quantities on the Archipelago. The Tongans have scarcely been able to develop a liking for these useful plants, especially since they do not thrive as a result of the careless and neglectful way they are tended.

489 [361] Since the plantations are sometimes a considerable distance from the dwellings--in contrast to ancient Tongan times--the question of how to transport the harvest (which sometimes consists of many heavy 482 tubers) must be solved. The Tonga often still use old ways of carrying. 198 To transport coconuts, for example, they split the outer skin of the husk like splints, then tie into a bundle four or five splints and carry home on their shoulders two of these bundles by means of a coconut leaf stem (to which the bundles are attached, front and back). Harvested tubers, bananas, etc., are most often carried in the traditional coconut-leaf baskets (kato lou niu) hastily plaited on the plantations, which the natives /167/ likewise carry by means of a coconut leaf stalk (resting on their shoulders and notched so that they can hook the basket on). The coconut leaf stalk is stuck through the basket itself. Often, the handles of the farming tools (for example, huo spade, huo lafa-lafa) are used as carrying sticks. The horse, which was brought 492 [136] to Tonga by Europeans, renders many natives important service as a [493] riding and pack animal, and some natives own two-wheel European carts [199] drawn by horses, which very much facilitate the transportation of even abundant harvests to the villages.

241 198 199 Seen as a whole, Tongan agriculture seems to us little changed. The traditional crops (supplemented by manioc) still form the basis of the food of the inhabitants. The significance of cultivated plants introduced by Europeans is no more than "supplementary." The tools and methods of cultivation are also basically the same, though improvement and additions to the tools, as well as a certain lapse in

/171 cont./

231 492 transport to the village their tubers, coconuts and other plantation products in a sack or coconut-leaf basket that lies crosswise in front of the rider. The owners of European two-wheel carts (455) can bring heavy loads home with their horses; the harness consists of a leather collar, a wooden back yoke /?/ /Ruckenbugel/, iron head harness and lines; a twig serves as a whip. Sometimes they also slaughter horses which they like to eat occasionally.

455. In the various villages, some one-eighth or one-fourth of the households own such carts.

231 The Tongan makes horse-raising very comfortable for himself. There are no stalls or enclosures. He tethers his horse near his house in the village, so that it can graze, or he ties it to a tree on the plantation where it can find its food. Water shortage makes it necessary to lead horses specially to watering places, which is not always easy. On the plantations horses often cause considerable damage, especially if they break away. The Tongan does not know how to look after horses and groom them. He often continues to use them as riding and pack animals even when they have open wounds on their backs as a result of improper treatment.

The horses imported mostly from Australia and New Zealand are said to have decreased after a few generations, probably because of changed living conditions.

Cow:

This domestic animal repeatedly introduced to Tonga by whites has to this day not become prevalent or of importance on the islands. Very few natives keep cattle, which are chiefly thought of as furnishing meat; cows are not milked. The animals are tethered on a rope on the plantations, so that they can find their food within a circumscribed area. Sometimes the natives lead them to a watering place, but they also leave them a few days or even weeks in one place,

/228 cont./

512 choir practice; school work.
177 and Christianization has brought the idea of the "week" and of Sunday.
178 Yet, aside from this day of rest, the rhythm of the daily activity
(527) seems to have remained the same: the Tongan functions with matter-
(181) of-fact equanimity, and the abundance of new duties and tasks has not been able to decrease, much less destroy, his inner calm.

F. Transportation (Land and Sea)

489 In examining the development of Tongan transportation we must naturally make a distinction between land traffic (on the islands) and sea traffic (within the Archipelago as well as between other islands and countries of the Pacific).

489 With regard to travel by land, it may be said that the majority
481 of natives still travel on foot. They often walk hour-long /229/
177 distances--transporting burdens at the same time--(596)

596. See pp. 249-251.

on the small islands as well as the large ones, though on the latter, in order to cover great distances, they make increasing use of means of transportation that have come to the Archipelago as a result of European influence.

492 The horse (597)
177

597. See p. 256-258.

that was introduced by Europeans has become very important for many natives (of the large as well as the small islands) as a riding- and pack-animal.

(493) As a draft animal it is used to draw the two-wheeled carts (598)
(401)

598. See p. 256-258.

which have proved very useful on the streets, roads and paths of the islands (even in the bush) and are also European imports; in ancient
000 Tonga the principle of the wheel was unknown. These wagons are not

/229 cont./ These wagons are not
398 made in the Archipelago, but some Tongans, even on the small islands, know how to repair them and how to make individual wagon parts (for example, wheels) from remnants of broken carts with the use of Tongan and European raw materials.

493 In recent years the bicycle has become somewhat widespread on
494 the islands of the Archipelago. Some natives (especially younger ones) already own bicycles that they bought in the chief towns. However, except on the main islands, where the bicycle is very serviceable on account of the greater distances and the paved streets, it does not seem to be an entirely adequate method of transportation. Though some Tongans already use the bicycle on the small islands (some of them to go to their plantations), there is very often no actual need for it, since many roads and paths are very poorly passable by bicycle; here it is more a symbol of economic prosperity and a toy.

484 On the larger islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u there is scarcely
(481) a native who takes the trouble to travel on foot the sometimes long distances from the villages to the chief towns of Nuku'alofa and
484 Neiafu. Some ride their bicycles, but the majority of Tonga men and
494 women let themselves be transported by trucks belonging to the govern-
493 ment, the Copra Board, white traders and Tongan drivers. In 1951 there were 151 trucks in the Archipelago, (599)

599. See Colonial Office, Report on the Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951. /cited in English/ p. 23.

most of which operated on Tongatapu (mostly with Tongan drivers); some of them operated on Vava'u and three on /230/ Lifuka. On the main island there are also a couple of superannuated buses still in existance. The taxis, of which there are a few on Tongatapu (Nuku'alofa) (with Tongan drivers), are used not only by whites, but frequently also by natives themselves for trips and for transport

/230 cont./

484 494 493 of all kinds (even for carrying pigs). In 1951 there was a total of 80 private cars in the Archipelago (600)

600. Ibid. p.23.

almost all of which drove on Tongatapu; some were owned by whites living there. Moreover, in the same year, 16 motorcycles (601)

601. Ibid. p. 23.

were registered in the Archipelago.

491 The old Tongan roads were, of course, not equal to traffic by such vehicles. From the sources we can scarcely tell whether the former "roads" were in any way paved or were simply surfaced with hard-pounded clay. While the small islands are today still criss-crossed by the traditional unpaved and, in the rainy season, very soggy roads and paths, some of which go back to the distant past, others to the beginning of the settlements, the islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u have a few good highways, fully adequate for truck traffic year round, surfaced with coral stone or even asphalt; these were built by Tongans under the supervision of Whites. In 1951 there were about 60 miles of such roads on Tongatapu and 18 miles on Vava'u. (602)

602. Colonial Office, Report 1950/51. p. 23.

484 501 As for sea traffic, the most important change in comparison with the past is the complete stop of long trips to other archipelagos

501 197 484 with catamarans. It has been a very long time since those so "carefully and skillfully built" (603)

603. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 287.

catamarans (604)

604. In the second half of the 18th century, the Tongans gave up their catamaran-type known as "tungiakia" in favor of the Fijian "ndrua"-catamaran, which they felt was superior, and which they copied masterfully and called

only basic agricultural tools, such as a bush knife, hoe, planting stick, and spade (Plate 10). Beyond these, little else is used for cultivation. Of all landholding Tongans surveyed, only 16 percent used a plow or tractor and, in each case, the implement was either rented or borrowed.

The maintenance of agricultural machinery, in terms of efficiency and materials (i.e., fuel, parts, and lubricants), severely limits the possibility of increased use within Tonga. Interviews within the Tongan Department of Agriculture indicated that this problem reaches every level of agricultural operation, from trucks to garden tilling machinery. For example, a large truck was cited as having not been used for over 18 months, because of a broken transmission gear. The required part, ordered from Japan, had not yet arrived and no one knew if it ever would. In the interim, no attempt to make the part, in one of the local blacksmith shops, had been made. It was confidentially learned that, should the part arrive, the truck would remain largely inoperative because of another damaged gear which was not totally broken and, therefore, not replaced. Other examples of this situation were noted, emphasizing the serious lack of basic mechanical service.

When workable machinery is available for rent, the cost is often prohibitive to the average farmer. Informants also complained that rental machinery is allocated on the basis of social standing and status, rather than need. Thus, the majority of planting, cultivation, and harvesting on Tonga remains the work of hands, and is expected to remain so.

[Due to poor quality of original reproduction, plate has not been marked for a Category—Analyst.]